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Christian Educator.

The Industrial and Higher Education of the Negro.

AN ADDRESS BY SECRETARY W. P. THIRKIELD, D. D.

We all believe that the largest culture should be open to the white man. To rich and poor; to high born, low born; to uppermost, downmost among white men—let the doors to largest intellectual opportunity and achievement be thrown wide open. Without debate, every higher institution of the land is open to him.

But as to the Negro?

How far is it wise for him to go in education? To what extent shall his higher education be attempted? This question is the outcome not so much of color as of the class idea. We put him in a class by himself; we differentiate him because of color and of past conditions.

More fundamental is the question—Why educate the Negro at all? Because he is a man. Yes, but how? To what extent? To answer this let us go back to the question as to the meaning of education. "Education is leading souls to what is best and making what is best out of them," says Ruskin. The gist of Herbert Spencer's epochal book is that education is teaching a man how to live completely. So education, then, is not impracticable idealism, a thing up in the air—but it is something human and real and practical, for the best life of man.

Emerson is right: "Man is an endogenous plant, and grows like the palm, from within outward; his education, his life, are his unfolding." If God is the author and maker of man, it certainly must be the natural thing, the Christian thing, to draw forth, to help unfold all that is highest and most august in every man—physical, intellectual, moral. And this evolution of the man; this making ready of the whole man for his best life is however lowly a sphere, is what we mean by the higher education.

The Negro is a man. Therefore, educate him as a man. Do not force education upon him. Do not veneer him. Simply open the door to highest opportunity in the intellectual life. Let him have a man's chance.

**Give Him
a Man's
Chance.**

The capacity of the Negro for the higher education has been demonstrated. Linguistic acquirements are at the basis. Strong testimony as to the capacity of the race for the English language is given by Professor Shaler, of Harvard University: "The Negro has mastered the English in a very remarkable manner. There are tens of thousands of untrained blacks in this country who by their command of English phrase are entitled to rank as educated men. I believe, in general, that our Negroes have a better sense of English than the peasant-class of Great Britain." And the capacity of the Negro for genuine scholarship has never been more strongly stated than by the Rev. Dr. J. E. Edwards, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the *Methodist Review* for April, 1882: "In many instances it must be admitted—and examples are in this city (Petersburg, Va.) that they do not only make as rapid advances as the whites, but really acquire thorough scholarship in the different departments of learning, and carry off medals for proficiency in mathematics and in the languages that would be creditable to any one of any race or color. It is idle, and only shows the inveteracy of our prejudice to shut our eyes to the fact that the Negroes of the coming generation are just as capable of scholarship and culture as the whites."

The capacity of the Negro for the higher education has been settled. We have learned, however, to distinguish between the intellectual capacity with which God has endowed all races, and the intellectual

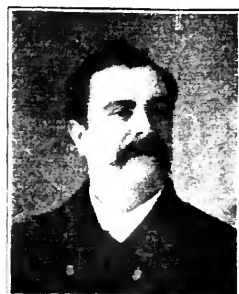
**Intellectual
Capacity
Proved.**



PRESIDENT M. W. DOGAN,
WILEY UNIVERSITY.



PRESIDENT R. S. LOVINGGOOD,
SAM HUSTON COLLEGE.



REV. J. P. WRAGG,
AGENT AMERICAN BIBLE
SOCIETY.

and moral equipment of a race which is the outcome of civilization and environment. The last danger is the overeducation of the Negro. We have only touched the fringes of the race. His real education is a task of generations.

The question now, then, no longer is, "Can the Negro take the higher education?"—but to what extent under present conditions, is it wise to furnish facilities for the higher education, seeing that the lack of endowments for his colleges must throw the burden of their support largely on the benevolence of the people? Does the Negro, in the present stage of his development, really need the higher education?

Industrial Training for the Masses.

Yes, even now after a generation, though the capacity of the exceptional Negro for higher education has been demonstrated, the trend of opinion in some quarters has set strongly away from college education, to elementary and industrial training for the race. Many of the tried and true friends of the Negro are the strong advocates and liberal supporters of this form of training, almost to the exclusion of the higher education. There must be reason and truth here. Facts must plead strongly to gain such advocates. Granted that for the masses, industrial training is first in importance—a necessity to existence and progress, shall we discourage, restrict, give up the higher education for the men of exceptional capacity and power?

This question may furnish reason for setting forth at this time some arguments in favor of the higher education, not as opposed to, but as really essential to, permanent

and effective results in elementary training and to the industrial and civic future of the race.

I. On the higher education the very existence of any education depends. No people will long maintain common schools for primary education, that does not possess and sustain colleges for the higher education. The fountain-head of learning is not the common school, but the college. The college not only furnishes the trained teacher, but gives motive and inspiration for the common school. Blot out that university in the wilderness and the intellectual leadership and achievements of Harvard men, and the entire history of a Commonwealth would be changed.

The elementary schools of the South have done an unparalleled work since emancipation. But that work would have been an impossibility had it not been for the teachers trained in the higher institutions, established and sustained by Christian benevolence.

Without these trained teachers, millions expended by the State for public education must largely have gone to waste. Had it not been for these schools of higher training, that early enthusiasm for knowledge which after Emancipation, carried old and young into the schools, would long since have spent itself, and millions of the race would have sunk back into the low levels of ignorance where slavery left them. These colleges and normal schools have not only given thousands of teachers to the public schools, they have also brought ideals and



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higher hopes to an entire race. Fortunate it is that these were Christian schools. The influence of moral and spiritual ideals in the teachers of a race just out of bondage—a race without standards of homelife, virtue, and morality—is beyond estimate.

The Negro is fast becoming his own teacher. The common schools in every Southern State are now largely under his control and direction. Teachers' institutes are conducted by him. Many of the normal schools, academies, and colleges are now in his hands. How imperative, therefore, that men of disciplined mind and tested scholarship lead in this epochal work that is to mold the thought and shape the character of the rising generation!

Dr. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, strongly emphasizes this thought: "Money expended for secondary or higher education of the Negro accomplishes far more for him. It is seed sown where it brings forth a hundred-fold, because each one of the pupils of these higher institutions is a center of diffusion of superior methods and refining influences among an imitative and impressible race. All outside aid should be concentrated on the secondary and higher education."

II. In the interest of pure industrialism for the Negro, this higher training is a necessity. He needs the best discipline of his mental powers to fit him for the inevitable era of strenuous competition in the South, with which he must soon battle.

If the Negro is to hold his own, he must have behind his brawny hand and strong right arm the trained mind to direct the hand, and the disciplined soul to control the

arm for highest issues. Is every Negro to be forever content to remain a hewer of wood and never a drawer of dividends? Is every Negro to be ever led and never a leader?

For his leaders and teachers in the industries, this discipline of mind and spirit is imperative. To train the mechanics of a race of nine millions, is an endless task.

But it is possible to train the master mechanics, who may go forth with thoroughly disciplined minds, as the teachers of mechanics, and as the organizers and inspirers of their people on higher industrial lines. Leadership in the trades calls for men of thorough training. Anybody can learn something about the arts and trades. But education in the principles underlying the trades is required for their mastery. Let us not forever link the industrial education of the Negro with the idea of mere elementary training.

Years ago I met a young man just graduated from one of the best Eastern colleges. His tastes turned him towards electricity. I found him one night making some rough experiments in electricity. He possessed high literary culture, and had mastered the



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GRADUATES OF CLAFLIN UNIVERSITY, NOW TEACHERS IN THE INSTITUTION.

sciences in his college course. He even wrote good poetry. Yet he soon rolled up his sleeves and went to work in the shops of the General Electric Company, in Lynn, Mass. Less than ten years afterwards, I met him in Berlin. He was already at the head of one of the greatest electrical companies in Europe. Now, an elementary education might have made this man a good electrician. The higher education fitted him for mastery.

It is self-evident that the masses of the Negro race are, for generations, to be tillers of the soil; to be the tillers in our industries; to furnish hands for menial labor.

And the South may thank Providence that she has this race here instead of the hordes of foreigners with which the North contends—a race that furnishes for a semi-tropical climate the best peasant labor in the world. The sober-minded and progressive people of the South, who have its largest permanent interests at heart, are, more and more, coming to an appreciation of this fact. The industrial and commercial future of the South is bound up with the black man.

If six millions of the rank and file of black workers were to move out of the South, and in their stead there should come a like number of Italians, Poles, Hungarians, and other un-Americanized immigrants, who are now

the civic and social problem of the North within six months such a wail would come up from the South as has not been heard since Appomattox.

The education of the exceptional men of the race, who, by their superior skill and intelligence may be able to command the respect of the South, and, at the same time, the confidence of the masses of their people as their leaders and teachers, is in the interest of the permanent welfare and prosperity of both races. Let the friends of exclusively industrial training not forget that it is the brain back of the arm of the blacksmith that turns mere arm power into the cunning that makes, instead of the plowshare, the caligraph and sewing-machine, and enables him to transform the pruning-hook into the mower and binder.

Train the hand alone, and you may raise a man to the second power, as a digger, a planer, a builder, a feeder of his fellows. Train the brain behind the hand and you may raise a man to the hundredth power, as the inventor, the master of world forces, the inspirer, the commander of the higher powers of a thousand men. There is thus given him larger capacity for securing support for himself, and for his people. He thus adds to the wealth and productive power of the community. This the South needs.

**Masses to be
Tillers and
Toilers.**

**Adds to
Productive
Power.**



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AGENT SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

Furthermore, the serious problems of the future are to be industrial and social. The Negro is to face competition, strenuous and unrelenting. Wage-earners, black and white, are soon to be organized into unions for self-protection. This stage is fast approaching in the South. The fact that the members of the labor union would not march in the procession at the Peace Jubilee in Atlanta, because their colored brothers were excluded, marks a revolution in the South. Whites and blacks will inevitably band themselves together for self-defense. Some one is going to lead these industrial forces. Shall it be a white man, merely because he is white? Shall it be one, black or white, who has received the narrow industrial training alone? One who knows nothing of economic science? To whom political economy is but a name? One whose powers of will and reason and self-control are undisciplined?

The unwise strikes, the calamitous uprisings of industrial forces at the North, that have often been almost criminal in view of their effect upon the badly-led masses, have been the outcome of just such undisciplined, narrow and ignorant leadership.

Besides all this, even the industrial schools, for which we may well plead as essential to the equipment of a race for the struggle of life on a footing of equality with other races, are dependent for their teachers upon these schools, which offer the higher training to the exceptional men and women of the race. Nearly all of the most effective members of the faculty in the most famous of these industrial schools in the South, are

graduates of the colleges which have given opportunity for their development in the highest summits of their capacity.

III. The higher education is necessary for the raising up of a trained leadership for the race.

It is the higher education that is to bring princes out of Egypt. Moses was fitted for leadership, because he was trained in all the wisdom of the representative civilization of his day. The words of Dr. Henry Drummond are especially applicable to the Negro at this time: "God is all for quality; man is for quantity. But the immediate need of the world at this moment is not more of us, but, if I may use the expression, a better brand of us. To secure ten men of an improved type would be better than if we had ten thousand of the average Christians distributed all over the world."

Ten Negroes of an improved type can do more for their race—and that means for humanity—than ten thousand average Negroes distributed over America.

Every race is dependent on its leaders. No race among us so much as the Negro. For the masses there are no libraries; no highly developed press; no superior schools; no large learned class. Therefore, for their opinions the masses are dependent upon their leaders.

The Negro must either take his opinions ready-made from the white man, or be so educated as to be capable of originating and enforcing his own opinions. And the leader needs to be taught to think; not to think about things, but to think through



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things; to form independent judgments; to reach logical conclusions; to *know* really for himself; to achieve his destiny; to inspire and lead his fellows on to larger life and nobler usefulness through unselfish service.

The masses of any people are always led by the small but all-powerful class of thinkers. The Negro is more and more to be led by men of his race. Therefore, the necessity for the higher education of leaders in order that the race may be saved from the domination of the charlatan or the leadership of the demagogue.

It is the trained and trusted leader who will do most to adjust the Negro to the inevitable conditions of his life; to make him master of his environment; to bring him to realize "Tis not in mortals to command success; they must do more—deserve it." It is the breadth of view that comes through the higher education that saves one from the narrowness of vision and conceit of the self-opinionated. The modest man is the large-knowing man.

The mistakes made in the early history of freedom were not the mistakes of the black man, but of the ignorant man and the badly-led man. It was the carpet-bagger and the avaricious Southern men joined with him, and not the Negro, who was responsible for the "horrors of Reconstruction." In political life, men utterly illiterate thrust themselves in, or were forced in by designing men, to walk unabashed where angels might fear to tread. Their ignorant leaders did not see that their race was used as the tool of designing men. It was the Negro of higher training who led the revolt against the demagogue. It was the educated brain of a Negro preacher that rescued the old Commonwealth of Virginia from the domination of Mahone and Mahonism.

Objection is made that graduates of Negro colleges have been found in menial employments;—college graduates actually working with their hands. Yes, it is to their credit that they have not adopted the philosophy of the educated tramp, who, when the lady feeding him pathetically inquired, "It's so sad!—then, you really can find nothing to do?" replied, "Yes'm, nothing but work." And "some college graduates have gone to the bad or are worthless." Yes, no doubt

true; though I affirm, after carefully working over the statistics, that the proportion from Negro colleges is very small.

It is also a significant fact that, with all these thousands of graduates from the higher institutions of learning for the black man, not one of them has ever been accused of the nameless crime against the sacredness of womanhood.

But, admitting faults and failures in the educated man, how about the several thousand of college-bred Negroes? To them might be applied the answer of the philosophical observer to the sneer that the college-bred men of Europe were failures: "Yes, one-third of the college men are failures; one-third become drunkards, and go down to lives of shame; but the other third rules Europe."

So with the Negro. This small body of men of trained intellect, of balanced judgment; the educators of their fellows, their teachers along higher industrial lines; the keen students of the sociological problems of the race; the masterful defenders of the rights and hopes of their people—these few are to determine the destiny of their race.

As the result of personal observation, over a score of years largely spent in the South, I would affirm that the sanest and safest leaders and helpers of the Negro race are the men and women who have come from our colleges and professional schools. Go into any Southern city where our teachers, preachers, and physicians are engaged in work among their people, and you will find them, in most instances, by their conservative attitude and constructive work, standing for the best interests of both races.

It was such a Negro who was in a large Southern town when the mob spirit was rising. A clash seemed inevitable between the races. He calmed the enraged minds of his people by simply repeating to them over and over the words, "Trust in the Lord and do good, so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed." It takes a man of trained will and strength of purpose to thus dominate when hot passion, let loose, urges men on to riot and bloodshed.

In commenting on the strong trend, even at the North, for a practical education and against the materialistic plea for an educa-

The Masses

Led by
Thinkers.

Ignorant,
Men Used as
Tools.

Value of
Exceptional
Men.

Sanest and
Safest
Leaders.



MISS CHARLOTTE CROCKETT, M. A.
TEACHER IN CLARE UNIVERSITY.

tion that gives the shortest cut to bread and butter, Chauncey M. Depew said, before the University of Chicago, that "a college-bred man has an equal opportunity for bread and butter; but, beyond that, he becomes a citizen of commanding influence, a leader in every community where he settles."

But how about the actual results of this higher education? Take this **An Object-Lesson.** object-lesson as an example of the college-bred man. Thirty-five years ago there might have been seen on the benches of a University in Atlanta two young men. They were struggling through the college course; wrestling with the problems of the higher mathematics, and digging away at the roots of Greek and Latin verbs. Of their teachers, two were Yale graduates and one from Dartmouth College.

Now, wasn't that a piece of folly—urging these men, of a race just out of bondage, through such a course of higher education? They were to go out among a people who couldn't cipher or speak good English. How much better to give them a practical education—a mastery of the elementary "three R's"—and send them out at once to teach their lowly and illiterate people! What can Greek roots and Latin phrases ever be to them?

But wait. And here it is just as well to admit that one of the serious mistakes in what may be called the experimental stage of Negro education has been the forcing of hundreds of minds through long and difficult courses of classical training, which, by the lack of capacity and previous discipline, were utterly unfitted for such courses of study.

But to return to these two young men.

They graduated. They went forth as teachers. One in a so-called "University," where he taught all the English branches. But he held on to the classics and to his lofty ideals. After a while he had pupils ready for college courses. He kept up his own studies, gathering about him a library of the world's undying literature. The best that this man gave his pupils was himself—the fruitage of a well-stored and thoroughly disciplined mind; a life enriched and ennobled by this larger knowledge of the imperial men and books of the ages.

What the outcome? Four of his graduates are able and successful college presidents, giving inspiration and guidance to their people. Many are ministers of high character, lofty ideals, and wide influence. Scores of them are judicial, conservative, helpful leaders of their race.

That other student of the University founded a high-school in Augusta; was editor of a paper of high moral tone; never held office, but was the wise political adviser of his people.

These two old students met the other day on the Commencement platform of the Georgia State Industrial College at Savannah, of which Prof. R. R. Wright, the second man, is President. The chapel was crowded with students and an eager, expectant throng of people. Distinguished officers of the State were seated on the platform. After the Commencement address of Dr. W. H. Croghan, Chancellor Boggs, of the State University, arose, and in highest terms commended the wise, considerate, and well-balanced utterances of the speaker. To the other white citizens, it was a revelation. They had never heard it on this wise. The *Savannah Tribune* printed the address, with its indorsement in terms of highest praise. On that platform President Wright conferred the diploma of the institution on his son, Richard R. Wright, Jr., who entered the University of Chicago for further training.

Does it pay? How far shall the higher education of the exceptional men of the race be attempted? Let this object-lesson make answer. If all that this University had accomplished was to make such a history and such an occasion possible, as an inspiration to the race and as a practical illustration to his white neighbors of the possibilities and powers of the Negro, it would have paid for the entire investment.



CLASS OF 1898, GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

**Trained Men
for the
Professions.**

The Negro race needs men of higher training for the professions. Broad-minded men of the South who have the best interests of both races at heart, recognize this fact. The *Montgomery Advertiser* in a recent utterance is a generation behind the times. In commenting on the sort of education that the South will permit, the *Advertiser* says: "To educate the Negroes for doctors, lawyers and the like, is to lay up trouble. The white people of the South are determined to control in the learned professions. To educate the Negroes as teachers, physicians, lawyers, and other occupations of that kind, is to invite failure and insure disappointment and possibly something worse." This does not represent the intelligent South that has its face to the future. It must be self-evident that a race of millions

**Lawyers
Needed.**

of which thousands are gaining wealth and property, must have legal advisers among their own people—lawyers who will teach them to avoid litigation in which they love to indulge. True, honest lawyers intent on pro-

tecting them in their ignorance and helping them to their rights.

**Best Men
for
Physicians.**

For physicians the race needs the best men; scholarly men with clear heads, trained faculties, accurate judgment, balanced powers. To gain the confidence of their own race; to command the respect of white physicians, the highest ability and training are demanded. Scores of graduate physicians by their skill and worth have won the confidence of the profession. Broadminded white physicians hold consultation with them. Many of them are called into the homes of white people. The intolerance and narrowness of the Indianola doctors is an exception. They thus are becoming mediators between the races.

Furthermore, the awful morality of the race calls loudly for physicians prepared by the higher training for the most careful study of the diseases peculiar to the Negro. Physicians who come in close touch with their own people are needed for the investigation of their environment and physical condition, and for the application of preventives for



PRESIDENT AND MRS. A. P. CAMPHOR AND MISSIONARIES IN WEST AFRICA.

the lessening of disease and for stopping the frightful morality that decimates the race.

The demand for a trained and consecrated ministry is imperative. The most serious problem before the race is to hold the progressive, aspiring Negroes of the rising generation to the Church, through a ministry, the majority of whom, according to Dr. Booker Washington, are not fitted morally or intellectually for that office. The highest qualities of leadership are required to meet the demands for the religious, civil and social reforms that must come for the redemption of the race. The minister is the center of power. The preacher now is their constituted leader. To hold this leadership demands a ministry that proves by its masterful grasp and brave treatment of all questions that make for the civil and moral uplift of the people, its right to leadership. As teachers of the Word, and as leaders of their people into larger faith and truth and righteousness of life, ministers of intellectual breadth and spiritual vision are needed.

And in preparing men for leadership through the higher education, we must not leave Africa out of account. "So far as the future of Africa depends on able native leadership," said Joseph Cook at

the World's Fair Congress on Africa, "the brightest star of hope for her development does not hang over the Nile, or the Congo; the Great Lakes, or the Cape, but over the United States. Many of our most cultivated and energetic Afro-American citizens are sure, after their weapons have been furnished here, to become leaders in Africa. Save the colored races, if you would save the torrid zone. Save our Negro citizens, if you would save the colored races." This was in 1893. In the following year the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa, in Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, was established. Of this Foundation, Joseph Cook wrote: "This Foundation, will, as I judge, make your Seminary one of the brightest stars of hope for the Dark Continent. The plan of Mr. Stewart appears to be wise, far-reaching, strategic, providential. You are planting an acorn of majestic promise."

How significant it is that when Bishop Hartzell opened the new era for Methodist Episcopal missions in Africa, the first men to respond to the call were two graduates of Gammon Theological Seminary, both Masters of Arts and Bachelors of Divinity! And now, five "sons of Gammon" and a score of the graduates of our colleges, in addition to these, have gone forth as missionaries in that dark land. Their strenuous discipline of mind has fitted them for the exacting

Star of
Hope for
Africa.



REV. DR. R. E. JONES, D. D.,
AGENT SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

work of leadership in the College of West Africa and for aggressive missionary work in Liberia, where they are reaching and uplifting thousands of natives and Liberians. And furthermore, it has given them the moral courage that is the outcome of long discipline of the mental and moral powers, to go into the mouth of the ravenous lion of African fever. When at the death of Livingstone the call came for missionaries for Uganda, who responded! Men of Cambridge and Oxford Universities, led by the scholarly and intrepid Hanington. So now our higher institutions in the South must furnish the missionaries having the courage and strength for Africa's redemption.

In view, then, of these impressive facts and arguments, which show that on the higher education the very existence of any education depends—that even the best interests of industrialism are bound up with the higher training; that collegiate discipline and culture are necessary for the raising up of a trained leadership for the emancipation of the masses and for skill and success in the professions—let us again ask, to what extent shall the higher education be attempted? We answer, only to that extent that shall give opportunity to all those who are thoroughly equipped in the preparatory

schools and have the ambition and the capacity for the higher training a chance to unfold the best and divinest that is in them. Say not to any man or set of men, nor to any race: This or that kind of education is good enough for thee and thine. This

Set No Limits. is unphilosophical, unjust, un-American. Let the gates to largest knowledge and culture be thrown wide open. Let each man for himself enter. Set no limits. Let each man, by his active brain and aspiring soul, set his own limits.

This may mean fewer colleges, with more exacting requirements for admission. Sixteen first-class universities in the South could do better the collegiate work than the sixty so-called colleges now struggling for students and support. There is no question that much money has been unwisely expended in the forcing of undisciplined minds—minds without capacity—through college courses. I know some Negro graduates who can not write good English. I have heard the same complaint, however, about Harvard graduates, even from Edward Everett Hale.

For many years to come, the first educational task among the colored people will be to supply competent teachers for public, industrial, and elementary schools. Hence, more of the resources of the numerous institutions already in operation should be devoted to first-class normal and academic work. It is also the part of wisdom to give a large place to industrial training. Were I speaking upon this phase of education, I should be just as strong and insistent in my advocacy of the training of the hand, as essential to the wise and rounded development of the race. We need more industrial schools, rather than less. The best future of millions of the Negro race is bound up with the industrial training of the tens of thousands who may be thus prepared for directing the energies of their people to wise ends.

And, further, let us not forget that this higher education of the exceptional Negro, for which we plead, is a slow process. It is only through generations of discipline and patient education of the people through such teachers, that the masses will be lifted into the larger and higher fellowship of the intellectual life. We have too often made the mistake of confounding the education of the individual with the mental and moral

equipment of a race. The teaching of sociology is that, while we may educate the individual in a few years, the intellectual and moral equipment of a race is a question of generations, and it may be of centuries.

It is the educated leaders—minds of large native capacity, the elect spirits, developed, sharpened, and polished by the higher education—who are to overcome the

race prejudice and civil inequalities against the Negro, and gain for him his rights as a man and as a citizen. Even the contest against race prejudice is not hopeless. Said James Russell Lowell years ago: "We can remember when the prejudice against the Irish was as strong in many of the free States as that against the African could ever be in the South. This prejudice nearly gave a new direction to the politics of the country." Who, I may ask, overcame the intolerant spirit of cruel race prejudice of Beacon Street, won civil recognition, and seated an Irishman as Mayor in the City Hall of Boston? Mark you, it was not Paddy O'Flarity, the skilled brickmason, or Dennis O'Leary, the boss carpenter, or Tim O'Shaughnessey, the skilled master of the latest ideas of truck-gardening—not these who demanded and gained recognition for their race from proud old Boston. It was the Irishman who had measured brains with the Yankee in Harvard College, and who had taken honors in the Boston University School of Law. Elementary and industrial training of the masses is efficient, but the education of the exceptional men of the race is alone sufficient for a people if it is to gain and hold a self-respecting footing among men. What the Negro asks is not social equality, but simply equality of opportunity in the business and struggle of life.

Again, by the decree of the whites of the South, the Negro is becoming more and more a race apart. An ignorant people has a hard, rough path upward, even when it has some fellowship in the civil and moral, the intellectual and religious life with those who have entered upon the larger and higher life.

Under slavery the Negro made rapid strides out of savagery because of his association in the home and in the Church with those who enjoyed superior advantages. He often heard the best preaching. His mind was thus trained to systematic thought. He

learned much Scripture. He put Psalm and prophecy into song. He wove into the strains of immortal melodies the pathetic history of Israel. He got ideas of law and order, the power of sustained work, the English language, and instruction in the Christian religion; without which practical education the marvelous history of the first generation out of bondage never could have been written.

Now, since by decree he is shut out from this fellowship in the civil and religious life of the Anglo-Saxon, and is largely shut up to his own Church, his own school, and is crowded out of political life and thought almost entirely, how imperative it is that he has, as leaders and helpers, those who have the strength and wisdom and self-control that come through the higher training!

Without such leaders, teachers, moral and spiritual helpers, the future of the masses of the race is hopeless. Realize the situation: they are surrounded by a strong and dominant people, a race

that has mastered and subjected every race with which it has come in contact—the race of Saxons that first conquered their conquerors; that subdued and now rules the two hundred millions of India; that, through the Pilgrim Fathers, in America first "fell on its knees, and then on the Aborigines," cruelly robbing them of their lands; that laid its hands on Australia and drove its inhabitants from its coasts; that has almost wiped out the native population of New Zealand;—a race, the vices of whose civilization have decimated, yea, almost destroyed, the Sandwich Islanders; a race that has now its hand on Africa—a beneficent and civilizing hand, but a mailed hand; a haughty and imperial race which, though it comprises only one-fifteenth part of mankind, now rules one-third of the earth's surface, and one-fourth of all its people.

This is the race with which the Negro of America stands face to face, and must wrestle, hand to hand, and brain with brain, in working out its destiny. No race ever faced a sterner problem.

Mr. Blair, of Virginia, an ex-Confederate, ten years ago, with candor and truthfulness, thus emphasized the situation: "What is the Southern problem, and its solution? The Southern problem is the settled determination of the whites to ignore the

**Lowell
on Race
Prejudice.**

**Future
Hopeless
Without
Leaders.**

**A Race
Apart.**

**The Problem
Frankly
Stated.**

equality of the Negroes, deprive them of rights, keep them in absolute subjection, and suppress them as men and citizens. Coercion is ruining the South."

Think of their environment. And, in the long run, this means more than heredity. Thoughtful Southern men see alarming elements in the situation. The masses of the people are being gradually crowded down into the Black Belt, away from civilization; down into the dark deltas of the Mississippi, and into horrible swamps of Arkansas, and into the bayous of Louisiana, where even the light is darkness, and where iron laws bind a million to the soil in practical peonage. These millions of the race are so cowed down by enforced servility to the white man, who has the wealth and power in his hands; so cut off are these masses from all knowledge of the world and civic aspiration and rational religious life, that the danger is that as mere tillers of the soil, or hirelings of men, all hope for a competency, and ambition for the higher life, shall be crushed out of them, till they cry out in the hopelessness of despair, in the language of Mrs. Browning's "Runaway Slave:—"

"I am black, I am black, but God made me they say
But if He did so, smiting back, He must have cast
his work away
Under the feet of his white creatures with a look
of scorn,
That dusky features might be trodden again to
clay."

The Negro race, facing such conditions,

**Need of
Trained
Leaders and
Helpers.**

needs a body of educated men as their leaders and helpers. Men in touch with the higher life of the world; men who know history; men who know of the struggles and triumphs of oppressed peoples in past ages; men who have intelligent trust and strength of purpose, based on a large knowledge of the part which Providence has played in the destinies of nations and peoples; large-minded, virile men, who can feel with Gladstone, in crucial hours, exulting over opponents, even in defeat: "Time and almighty truth are on our side; by their aid we will eventually carry the banner of triumph unstained, without rent or tatter, through the storm;" men who can hold aloft the torch of hope, lighted on

the flaming altar of the world's undying literature of liberty; men who, in the struggle for human rights and freedom can sing:

"Milton is for us, Shakespeare is for us,
Burns, Shelley, they speak from their graves;"

men who, in the fiery ordeal through which every race that has risen to power has had to march, have singing in their souls the spirit of Wordsworth, in his ode to *Touissant L'Overture*:

"Thou hast powers that shall work for thee,
Air, earth and skies;
There is not a breathing of the common wind
That can forget thee;
Thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies, prayers
and love,
And man's unconquerable mind."

It is the man of courage and faith—a courage not physical but moral; a high-souled courage in which the sense of immortality is strong; a courage, the very sinews of which have been wrought into steel by his mental wrestlings with the mighty problems of thought and life and destiny, forced on him in the higher education—that will sustain the Negro in the hard and strenuous battle for the higher life, for civil rights and political enfranchisement and for industrial emancipation.

Lincoln may break chains that fetter the feet and enslave the body, but the emancipation of mind and spirit must be wrought out by the Negro for himself. And the emancipators of the human race, the mighty men who have wrought out civil and religious freedom for oppressed peoples, have come not from the gymnasia or the workshops, not from the preparatory or industrial schools, but from the colleges.

Call the roll of the spiritual emancipators of men, and Calvin answers from the College of Geneva; Luther, from the University of Wittenberg; Jerome, from the Universities of Paris and Prague; Wiclif and Wesley, from Oxford; Gladstone, from the classic halls of Cambridge. Therefore, let us cling to the higher education for the elect sons and virile minds of every race, as the very sheet-anchor of their hopes, and the basis of their true enfranchisement among men.



